

THE LABOUR ORGANISER

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Review of the Month

AS in 1929—only better! That, in our judgment, is the proper verdict to be passed on the results of the Municipal Elections.

Several months ago, our own observations and contact with the constituencies led us to the conclusion that the Labour Party had already recovered the ground lost last year (and the previous year), and we have not hesitated to express this view in many quarters. Membership and effort is equivalent in most places to anything it ever was, except in an actual election period; and to confirm, not our optimism, but our judgment, the Municipal Elections show that the tide of 1929 has again returned, and even carried us 58 seats ahead. To secure a total of 458 seats against a Tory score of 218 seats is not bad travelling. And there is no mistaking the meaning.

But in the few days following the election we met a number of the Dismal Desmonds of our Movement who were full of wailings and lamentations that we hadn't done better. What on earth did these D.D.'s expect? or, more pertinently, what daily paper do they read? And hereby hangs a tale. The majority of capitalist papers came out on November 2nd *with incomplete returns* and scare headlines announcing "Socialist Attack Fails." This notwithstanding the fact that the figures even then disclosed a Labour majority in seats polled and a net gain over losses. On 3rd November one scanned the capitalist papers in vain for a complete return. In other words our utterly despicable "leading" newspapers gave the half-time score as the final result, and deliberately concealed from their readers, and the nations abroad, the fact that the "National" Government could not muster one-third of the

seats against its opponents. This is a fact that Labour speakers must rub home in order to still further discredit the "National" pretences of our Tory Government.

Some further facts. Labour this year occupied in a sense the position it held at the Parliamentary Elections last year. It was the defending Party. The seats that were vacant were those fought in 1929 when Labour achieved a brilliant victory. To make one single net gain Labour had to repeat a performance that it failed in in 1930 and to completely reverse the experience of last year. It did it, with 58 seats to the good, and in spite of a million more unemployed making the selection of candidates peculiarly difficult, and in face of an unprecedented activity on the part of the enemy. The Tories indeed are woefully crestfallen at the results. For three weeks the Press had screamed, and our enemy had worked hard many months to profit by our extended and vulnerable front. The usual tale has been told that the result would have been different had a larger percentage of voters gone to the poll; but in such figures we have examined we note that Labour did best where the polls were highest.

So now on to the next election for millions more must be brought to see the light. The flowing tide has set Labour.

And in making progress towards the great victory which we believe is now in sight we are tempted to ask at this junction whether "policy" discussions are not being a little overdone to the neglect of the all-important advantages of attack and to the further neglect, at least on the part of some people, of opportunities for organising and consolidating the forces we already possess? Of course, policy is essential, but with all deference to the now disbanded

S.S.I.P. and the others, we believe there are other jobs even for the intelligentsia. Nor do we want a policy thought out purely by the experts. The trouble is that wretched word "crisis" is still with us, and some folk will persist in thinking that with a Labour victory another crisis will come along, and that we must therefore think aloud to-day not only as to every detail of our policy but as to the methods we shall adopt in the "fatal" hour. Ah well, victory itself is sweeter to us than thoughts of the nasty things it might bring in its train. And we think too it is more important to concentrate on getting that victory than in being too precise about what we shall do with it, or how we shall extract its sting. Isn't there just a doubt somewhere about those solid qualities of the workers who will know how to "carry on" especially with some sort of workers' control? And has everybody overlooked the fact that the present Government, by its policy of converting us into a nation that lives by taking in its own washing, is actually simplifying the task of its lawful successor by lessening just those risks of foreign economic relations which might precipitate a crisis when Socialism here gets on top. Oh, let's get on making members! It's all too simple, after all.

"Plebs," this month, in the course of an urge to workers to read more books and especially working-class literature (an urgent and vital need, my dear readers) makes a disclosure concerning sales of literature at Labour Party meetings which gives one furiously to think. An instance is quoted of a big Labour Party demonstration at which over a thousand persons were present: the literature sales were 5/9—about a quarter of a farthing per head. At a Trade Union demonstration the crush of 300 expended just 1/6—somewhere about the same individual extravagance. And we could multiply these instances by scores. What about it, agents, organisers, secretaries and everybody else? Nationalise indeed—"confiscate"?—"take over"?—"control"?—and with a crossly ignorant and wilfully blind and stupid following? with Parties too infinitely silly or inept to take a few commonsense steps to education by *organising* the sale of literature? This is straight talking, but it is overdue. At the recent Leicester Conference one constituency had ten meetings with six

or seven "National" speakers, and didn't sell one pennyworth of Party literature. We pray Heaven that the conscience of our movement will awaken to this matter—but as God helps those who help themselves will our readers now please turn to page 171.

A thought for to-day: "Raise the veil boldly; face the light . . . go thou forth . . . bearing precious seed." — Ruskin.

And because John Ruskin's call to propaganda is so rarely quoted to-day, and is yet so apt to present conditions, we make neither comment or apology on reprinting his words as follow:

"And if, on due and honest thought over these things, it seems that the kind of existence to which men are now summoned by every plea of pity and claim of right, may, for some time at least, not be a luxurious one; — consider whether, even supposing it guiltless, luxury would be desired by any of us, if we saw clearly at our sides the suffering which accompanies it in the world. Luxury is indeed possible in the future — innocent and exquisite; luxury for all, and by the help of all; but luxury at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant: the cruellest man living could not sit at his feast, unless he sat blindfold. Raise the veil boldly; face the light; and if, as yet, the light of the eye can only be through tears, and the light of the body through sack-cloth, go thou forth weeping, bearing precious seed, until the time come, and the kingdom, when Christ's gift of bread, and bequest of peace, shall be 'Unto this last as unto thee'; and when, for earth's severed multitudes of the wicked and the weary, there shall be holier reconciliation than that of the narrow home, and calm economy, where the wicked cease — not from trouble, but from troubling—and the weary are at rest."

HELD OVER:—We regret that we must hold over till next month the continuation of our article on The Law of Libel and Slander.

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What to do as Literature Secretary

WITH SOME HINTS ON SELLING LITERATURE.

IN the first place every constituency or Local Labour Party which has not already appointed a Literature Secretary is requested to do so without delay (vide Head Office circular, July, 1932).

This article is written primarily for the benefit of the Literature Secretary who has taken over his duties, but we urge every reader to study our comments, and in particular if no Literature Secretary has yet been appointed to endeavour to secure that this omission is remedied at the next Party meeting.

The Literature Secretary is the co-ordinating link between his Party and the Head Office in matters relating to literature, and supplies should be ordered through him. It is his business to organise and supervise the sale of literature in his Party's area.

How to Begin.

Now the beginner in this job has first of all to acquire a knowledge of such Party literature as is available. He should collect all samples and stock (if any) in the possession of his Party, and not least of all, enquire concerning circulars that have been issued within recent months from the Head Office on this matter. Head Office will readily supplement any information that is lacking.

The next job is to secure a copy of the terms on which Party literature is supplied. Each pamphlet and publication, and also the circulars relating to same give information as to the retail and wholesale price of the particular publication. But there are two special methods of supply which it is essential the Literature Secretary (and his Party) should understand and *take advantage of*.

A four-page leaflet on this matter was issued to Local Parties in July. The leaflet bears on the first page an illustration of recent pamphlets, and if the circular is not to be found among Party records application for a copy should be made to the Head Office.

Summarised briefly, the proposals of the Head Office relating to the sale of literature are:—

(a) That a standing order should be placed for a minimum number of copies of every pamphlet to be sent to the Literature Secretary auto-

matically on publication, payment to be made one month after the receipt of any particular supply. The number ordered would, of course, have relation to the possibilities of sale in a particular district, and it should be possible everywhere to get rid of at least one dozen of each new pamphlet.

(b) That the Local Party should make a definite annual literature subscription of £1 or £2 or more, in return for which *a monthly minimum of pamphlets is sent*, the total value being equal to the annual subscription. Under these terms the Literature Secretary may choose his own literature, and the subscription may be paid in four equal quarterly amounts.

The Literature Secretary should, right at the commencement of his duties, consult with his Party on the three courses that are available, i.e., (1) to order literature spasmodically as formerly, (2) to obtain regular supplies or (3) to contract for an annual subscription. We think there will be little doubt that the Local Party is best served by either of the last two courses.

Small Profits—Quick Returns.

And now as to the Literature Secretary's important and pleasant task. It should be the constant aim to sell literature rapidly, to keep no old stocks, and to get new publications directly they are available. In this way a steady demand for literature is created; money is turned over quickly, and good sales and good profits result.

The Literature Secretary should familiarise himself as far as possible with the contents of every publication, and also with its get-up and price. The Literature Secretary has the advantage of first scanning every publication, and he will not be long in acquiring a knowledge that will make his advice always valuable to his Party and of value also to the individual purchaser.

Opportunities for big sales at demonstrations, etc., occur from time to time, but care should be taken not to over-stock. Over-stocking with any particular pamphlet is akin to creating "dead capital," and stock, which is selling slowly has a knack of becoming

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a brake on fresh purchases, notwithstanding that the latter might sell better. Order in small quantities, and order often.

"Outside" Publications.

A word on going outside Labour Party publications. Where occasional large or regular sales may be looked for, advantage is to be gained by the addition to one's stock of a few standard Socialist books, the publications of the Fabian Society, and certain publications of a kindred nature. It is, however, unwise for this sort of thing to be attempted at the beginning. Literature Secretaries must feel their way, and in time their Party will have behind them a regular and thirsty clientele trained through the reading of simpler pamphlets to a desire for heavier and more costly matter. Books can lock up a lot of money, and while they look well as a display they are no use unless they sell.

A file should be kept containing a sample of each publication and the Literature Secretary should keep an account book, entering therein all purchases both in regard to quantities and price. He should also enter in another place all cash received, giving the dates, and all cash paid over to the treasurer. It is probable that accounts will be discharged through the Treasurer of the Local Party, though a good working arrangement is for the Literature Department to pay its own accounts, and to hand over from time to time a proportion of its profits. This method ensures that bills are paid to time, and prevents fresh stocks being held up because payment for previous supplies has not been made.

The question early arises as to how literature in stock is to be kept both clean and portable. Literature can be kept very nicely, of course, in cupboards and shelves at home, but this is just the wrong place for it, for sales are made at meetings and can be made at *all* meetings. The editor, in the early days of literature selling, never attended even an Executive Meeting without carrying a few pamphlets, and an occasional book. The pamphlets were the latest stuff hot from the press, and nearly always sold out. A book would go because generally it would be one which would have an appeal to at least two or three

persons one might meet at a meeting. It is surprising how much stuff will sell on sight.

If the beginner follows our advice not to purchase too much stock he will find that a convenient-sized attaché case will ordinarily hold everything it is desirable to take to a meeting of under two hundred and fifty persons. It is an advantage to thread a few strings or even wire through the lid, as when the attaché case is open this contraption acts as a show case—a few pamphlets being displayed in orderly fashion in the lid, and the rest in the well of the case.

The stock can, of course, be lightened for smaller meetings by leaving some at home, and the attaché case is in no sense an inconvenient article to carry about.

A Permanent Stall.

For larger stocks we advise larger cases, or specially-made wooden ones. For permanent use in club or Party premises, the same principle of construction should be adhered to. We have seen wooden cases built on attaché case principles with an area equivalent to an ordinary office roll-top desk. When closed, all the literature is safely locked away, and when opened the dimensions give opportunity for an attractive and extensive display. A cash till may be added if desired. At the same time we advise every Literature Secretary to have on hand a fitted small attaché case, and to carry it everywhere.

And now we will get to some hints on selling.

From what has been said already we have indicated that sales are expected even amongst one's own Executive and Party, and indeed they are often badly needed there. No Literature Secretary should be afraid to push his wares in this way. In time he will get his reward, and sometimes thanks. The other days we met a man to whom we sold some copies of pamphlets by Councillor Glyde of Bradford, exactly twenty-six years ago. Our friend remembered, and he thanked us. The pamphlets brought him over to the Party. He has since been a Parliamentary candidate, and is to-day a Labour Councillor.

But probably the mind of our readers is on the sales at demonstrations

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and the stalls thereat. We have few good words to say about the usual methods of organising the latter, or selling literature at meetings.

Selling at Meetings.

In another part of this issue we narrate an instance where at a demonstration of over a thousand persons the literature stall sold just 5/9 worth of literature. This return is just pitiable, and if there was much stock, the sale was hardly worth the cost of carriage.

What is wrong with our methods? In the first place we say emphatically that the literature stall is nearly always badly placed, and the organisation for sales is practically nil. We have far more faith in the push and go of half a dozen good sellers among the audience than in all the stalls or in all the references the Chairman makes from the platform.

But a store or stall there should be and the appointments of the hall govern the site. If a stall is permitted (and sometimes it is not) we much prefer to see three or four tables spread through the hall than an elaborate show in the crowded and inconvenient main passage—even to the sacrifice of a few chairs.

But the *only* way to get the sales we ought to at meetings is by the appointment of energetic and tactful literature sellers, and these should move about selling literature while the audience is assembling.

Don't Confuse Buyers.

It is bad policy to confuse prospective buyers by too elaborate and too varied stock on the stalls, or by giving the literature sellers too great a variety to sell. Far better to concentrate on one or two pamphlets and sell exhaustively on these, than to have people who can only afford to buy one pamphlet hesitating which is the best thing to take.

Even where literature sellers are at work we have often seen the job badly bungled. Literature sellers should not be permitted to take up stocks promiscuously from the stall, but their selection should be made for them and a check given.

Let us suppose a hall capable of seating fifteen hundred persons, of which six hundred will be in the gallery. Adequate literature selling in such a hall would require five or six stewards upstairs and eight or nine

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downstairs, and besides the main stall a smaller one would be required upstairs and a further one about the centre of the floor. For such a job the Literature Secretary should prepare beforehand a number of octavo slips—about the size of a pamphlet, and each literature seller, whether he receives his stock from the main or the branch stalls, should receive a voucher for whatever stock he is given to sell. The voucher should be made up in somewhat similar form to the following:—

and advocated that penny per week members should be given leaflets from time to time, also the monthly "Citizen." This distribution benefits collections, and makes the task of collectors far easier.

It is obvious that each collector cannot be supplied with stocks of literature to hawk round and sell—if only because there isn't time to spare when collecting contributions. But in the first place, the Literature Secretary should suggest to his Party from time to time the gift of an occasional pam-

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Sixpenny Pamphlets
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It will be observed that the use of such a form gives an absolute check on stocks and simplifies the task of the seller in settling up after the meeting.

So far we have only referred to sales at meetings, but every Literature Secretary knows that there is a great field for sales among the regular membership if opportunities can be found for effecting it. There is also opportunity for sale at Youth Section Meetings, at Women Section Meetings, and in study circles if such exist. In the latter cases we advise the Literature Secretary to make contact with the proper officers, and not to hesitate to hand over small stocks from time to time for sales in these specialised quarters. A voucher as above will, of course, be used.

The question of sales amongst regular-paying members where the system of collectorship exists is a bigger problem. We have long held

phelet, if only twice yearly to penny-per-week members. He should also interest as far as possible the collectors in the fact that literature is available and for sale, and acquaint them with his willingness to supply anything ordered through them. Occasionally a collector will volunteer to take a dozen pamphlets round with him, and if this is successful the experiment gets repeated. It is little use trying to compulsorily saddle collectors with the additional responsibility of selling literature, but if they can be interested in the work many of them will find opportunities for putting sales over.

One word more. Some few Parties have opportunities for selling literature in Party offices and at Clubs. If public displays are made it is the essence of salesmanship that the stock should frequently be changed, that it should always be up-to-date, and that if a customer wants to buy a pamphlet there is definite accessibility to some one who can supply.

THE LONDON LABOUR PARTY MEMBERSHIP TROPHY.

The London Labour Party Trophy for conspicuous effort in developing individual membership has been won by West Woolwich Division to whom it will be presented by the Chairman of the London Labour Party, Mr. T. E. Naylor, J.P., at the coming Annual Conference, after being held for a year by West Bermondsey.

In the test period, which included the national membership campaign, West Woolwich made 1,494 new members, which is equivalent to one new member for each 9.72 Labour electors at the last General Election. Mile End was a very close runner-up, having made 988 new members, or one for every 9.84 Labour electors. Limehouse followed closely, with 895 new members, or one for every 12.7 Labour electors.

The next three divisions were Shoreditch, West Bermondsey and East Woolwich.

A NEW PAMPHLET.

"War and Socialism," price one penny: The Labour Party. Quantities, 9d. per dozen, 6/- per 100.

This timely and attractive-looking pamphlet sets out the Socialist case against the war mentality of capitalist organisation. And such exposure was never more needed than now when both policy and despair, not to say blundering, may earlier than we think condemn the masses once again to the shambles.

The pamphlet sets out in simple language the methods employed to create war and the Socialist method of counteracting them.

Literature sellers—get busy! Selling this pamphlet will do more to prevent war than merely passing pious resolutions.

THE LABOUR PARTY ANNUAL REPORT.

The Annual Report of the Labour Party is now in the printer's hands and its dispatch may be expected at any moment.

We cannot too strongly urge upon Parties the necessity of securing the distribution or sale of copies of the Annual Report to all the principal officers. The report as we have before remarked is virtually a Labour Party encyclopedia. It contains the Annual Executive Report, lists of delegates, candidates, and agents, financial report and data regarding affiliation fees, delegates' names and addresses, besides a full report of the all-important discussions which took place at the momentous Leicester Conference.

We cannot imagine how any active Labour person desiring to be up-to-date, or assuming to be so, can possibly do without this report, and all the information it contains.

Orders should be immediately sent in to the Labour Publications Department. The following is the scale of prices:—

- 1 copy, 1s. 5d. post free.
- 3 copies, 3s. 9d. post free.
- 12 copies, 12s. od. post free.
- 50 copies, £2 os. od. post free.
- 100 copies, £3 os. od. post free.

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NOTES and NOTIONS

PROVED, POOLED, PROOFED AND PRINTED



What is meant by the phrase, now often heard in our Movement, "co-ordinated effort"? And perhaps we might further ask how many people use the phrase without really understanding all its implications? Unfortunately a tremendous lot of effort is expended in different directions by Local Parties, which, if there was proper co-ordination would give infinitely better results. Further, the lack of co-ordination sometimes spells the entire failure of some particular form of effort. Imagine, as an instance, a public meeting at which no literature is sold, and at which no opportunity is given for the converted to join the Party. The object of the meeting has, in this case, but one single direction, i.e., to influence persons through the speeches from the platform. It is a propaganda effort purely and simply, without any attempt to reach results; and experience shows that the permanent effects of many meetings are practically nil.

In a properly organised meeting there would be both literature selling and an attempt to enrol members by the provision of forms and suitable invitations. The meeting now has a *threefold object*, and three activities of the Party are brought into play; in other words there is co-ordination. Returns in three directions will ultimately result, and at virtually no additional cost. One can illustrate again and again the same idea regarding other activities of Local Parties. Take an example from a constituency with a number of collectors and a fair sized membership with weekly contributions. If the collectors have no other function or object than to collect contributions it is quite possible that membership will flag and income fall away. Indeed it is bad policy to let one's Party become a pure

machine for collecting contributions. But by using the collectors to distribute, either the monthly local sheet, the Labour "Citizen," or occasional gifts of literature, propaganda is co-ordinated with organisation, and the result is decidedly beneficial. Sales of tickets for social functions may sometimes be dealt with the same way.

The best and most successful organisers invariably succeed in obtaining the maximum amount of co-ordination in their Parties and their efforts are even to be seen in the literature they publish. Thus a meeting bill will contain a propaganda tag at the bottom. A syllabus of meetings will contain probably a propaganda par and a Co-operative or somebody's advertisement. A canvass will be made the opportunity for distributing literature. A whist drive or dance will be made to serve an organising purpose by the collection and notation of the names of persons attending (for membership or registration purposes)—this is easily done, and is done by some Parties by having a detachable part to the ticket. A social evening will have sandwiched with it a propaganda speech, etc., etc. Above all the platform is never made to do its work single handed and unsupported. We advise our readers to think this over, and study what plans for improved co-ordination might be adopted in their own constituencies.

What a lot of bother sometimes arises simply because movers of resolutions and amendments will not put their motions into writing. Recently we have seen quite a kettle of fish merely because at a certain meeting resolutions were verbally moved in a general way, and the poor Secretary was left to get the gist of them as best he could. Naturally the Secretary put down what

he thought the movers meant, and small blame to him because he did not succeed. We have frequently attended meetings where we have felt certain that the mover of a resolution simply could not, if he tried, put his motion into writing; it is not an unknown thing for a resolution to be moved in a general way and nobody clearly understands the actual terms—least of all the mover. This sort of thing wants checking, and it is up to Labour chairmen to be less indulgent—to give firmer rulings, and also to understand something of the difficulties which a Secretary experiences when called upon to interpret other people's intentions. Chairmanship at Local Labour Party meetings does not, as a rule, call for a wide knowledge of the rules of debate, but it does call for the application of a few rules of commonsense. In the past the Movement has done more by way of telling its Secretaries what to do than in instructing its chairmen how to do their job. It would be a considerable help to the Movement if some of our chairmen polished up their ideas a little, and laid themselves out for more efficient control and conduct of business of the meetings they preside over.

The inevitable expansion of Municipal Boroughs which has been taking place since the last redistribution of Parliamentary seats is leading to an apparently unending number of instances where municipalities now extend outside their Parliamentary boundaries into the territory of neighbouring Parliamentary Divisions—all of the latter being "counties," of course. The result, necessarily, is complication and overlapping between the respective Divisional Labour Parties. We leave out of count here the similar re-adjustment and regrouping of Local Government authorities, due to recent legislation which has provided internal problems for county divisions, and in some few cases, an external over-lapping of the nature referred to above into the territory of other Local Government bodies than boroughs. The problem which faces Local Parties is how to adjust organisation and working to the new situation for the areas overlapped now find themselves with a dual obligation, first to the Party in whose Parliamentary area they lie, and secondly to the Party which now claims them for municipal purposes. And this nut is

not an easy one to crack, for the local circumstances differ widely. In most cases the areas taken into the municipalities are populous, though we know of one large undeveloped area taken over which contains only eight houses. In some cases the added areas are definite overflows from the towns—housing estates, and such—but in others the added areas are, in outlook, and by tradition, separate townships with a developed civic sense of their own. Local Labour development and history provide almost as great a variety of circumstance, and altogether the task of suggesting a workable arrangement to suit all cases seems impossible. There will be a variety of agreements on this matter, though we believe a few suggestions on the general lines of these agreements will not be unhelpful.

In the first place it should be remembered that though local circumstances, and the nature and stage of Party development in their areas has led some Divisional Labour Parties in County Divisions to take a special interest in Local Government elections for the whole or part of their areas, this function, apart from the duties of general oversight of Local Party organisation, is not one which naturally or by the constitution, falls to "county" D.L.P.'s. Indeed the rules have always conserved to the localities the rights of promotion and selection of candidates, and the obligations which relate to running local elections. This simplifies an approach to the question because Divisional Labour Parties in Boroughs *have* got just the responsibilities indicated. It will be pointed out that not all the Boroughs whose boundaries are extended are Divisions in themselves. Nevertheless, in every Borough the Local Party has by rule the responsibility for the local election in its area. The principle is therefore the same; the County Party, as we will call it for convenience, has responsibility for the Parliamentary Elections only, and the added areas are now included within the area of a Party which is definitely charged with responsibility for municipal elections.

County Parties are naturally apprehensive that the organising and financial possibilities in the added areas will presently be lost to them entirely, or almost so, and point to the fact that association in annual elections with

another Division will be likely to weaken attachments that function electorally only once in three or four years. The fear is real, and this is precisely what will happen; and further, these areas will go altogether at the next redistribution. Children will grow up, worse luck. But however rendering these things may be County Parties have the facts to face, and the thing to aim at is to secure such agreement with the Municipal Party as will ensure (1) the maintenance of the organisation; (2) its mobility for both Parliamentary and Municipal Elections; (3) a fair division of income, and (4) an adequate representation of the added area in both places in which it is interested. In this connection one must bear in mind that the area cannot be torn out of its parliamentary constituency and handed over bodily to the borough. This would be flagrantly opposed to commonsense and also to Party rules. The added areas will *in every case* become the subject of special rule and special agreement, and will therefore in some respects constitute an exception to certain ordinary rules in both places.

Agreements covering the four points mentioned can vary greatly in detail. They must not, however, infringe the following underlying fundamental principles of the Party constitution (1) that individual membership will remain with the County (Parliamentary) Party, i.e., members will get the national card issued by their Parliamentary D.L.P. though the cards may by agreement be issued through, and membership organised by, the Borough Party. (2) No agreement can provide that the representation of the added area will have the power in the Municipal Party of taking part in a Parliamentary selection. We suggest that the question of affiliated T.U. branches in any added area should be the subject of negotiation and consultation with Head Office. Circumstances and attachments will vary and though affiliations rightly belong to the County Party this question is not so fundamental as the other two. Finally, though agreement may be reached upon the apportionment of members' contributions and representation, there will certainly crop up the question of responsibility for propaganda, and as to which Party the locality shall co-operate with in money-raising efforts and social activities. The ideal arrangement is for the Borough

to take over, guaranteeing the financial agreement and to keep the machine in order and in readiness to hand over at the General Election; even so we foresee the advisability of exceptions, and certainly the possibility of profound disagreement unless all parties concerned discard any ideas of financial advantage and consider solely the best means for maintaining efficient machinery and of advancing Labour's power and representation in the area concerned.

The other day we listened while two estimable and hard-working local workers discussed the question (and apparently with no small satisfaction to themselves) of the degree of sacrifice in time and service which other officers and members of their Party gave to the Movement. To ourselves (who had always regarded sacrifice as something akin to love and therefore indivisible into quantities and not to be measured) the discussion was only at first instructive as showing how our best people can preen themselves on occasion and bask in an appreciation of their own virtue. But on thinking matters over we found that the facts were interesting and that a moral was emerging that our friends had never seen—but which our readers will. Now A and B, as we will call them, turned up every night at the Party offices. From 6 p.m. onwards A worked and pored over books and records, or attended meetings and was in fact a virtual slave to his Party. B, a lady, also always came in; she was caterer-in-chief and on every committee into the bargain; her days were devoted to women's work and her nights were full of all sorts of other jobs.

Compare now with C, D, E, F and G, members of the E.C. and other officers. Compare with H to Z being members of the Party who sometimes stayed at home, even attended football matches, took the kiddies to the pictures, attended an occasional church or chapel, or shameful thing, planted spuds on Sunday or made the old man a suet pudding. Sacrifice? A and B could "sacrifice" while these others — ugh! Now that was A and B's line of thought, and after all it was very comforting to them. But for unsound reasoning and lack of charity their outlook took the biscuit.

(Continued on page 188.)

CORRESPONDENCE.**The Chairman's Casting Vote.**

Dear Mr. Editor,

Adverting to your article upon "The Chairman's Casting Vote" in your September issue, which I am afraid is rather ambiguous as to the law upon this subject.

Unless there is provision made in the standing orders or rules of any Labour Party Branch, the chairman has no casting vote at Common Law. A chairman has just the same right as any other member to exercise his vote (unless it is provided to the contrary in the Rules), but ordinarily he has no "second" or casting vote, and if the voting is equal the motion will not be carried. In *Nell v. Longbottom*, 1894, it was stated that "When, as the result of the chairman giving his vote, the numbers on either side become exactly equal, the Common Law appears to have provided no way out of the difficulty." The chairman is not bound to give his casting vote, even if such is provided.

The Statutory provisions are clearly stated in your article, but in the absence of proxy voting I am of the opinion there may be occasions when a chairman may rightly exercise his casting vote when such is allowed.

Yours, etc.,

J. W. FRENCH.

Holmewood,
Nr. Chesterfield.

[Is there not also some ambiguity in our correspondent's letter? He tells us in the first paragraph that our article was ambiguous as to the law upon this subject, yet in the last paragraph he says the statutory provisions were clearly stated in our article.]

Unfortunately, the very case our correspondent quotes merely adds to any ambiguity which existed. This quotation was an opinion expressed *inter alia* in *Nell v. Longbottom* by one of H.M. Judges. The judgment in actual fact upheld the right of a chairman of a District Council to give a second and casting vote. So that's that!

We venture to think, however, that even if the above quoted case is a correct interpretation of common law, i.e., unwritten law, its application might have force in regard to statutory meetings, but it could not be quoted against the overwhelming mass of evidence of the practice in ordinary gatherings of a non-statutory character (such

as Labour meetings) where the chairman's right to a casting vote is rarely challenged.

Indeed there is now the weight of so eminent an authority as Blackwell and Glenn, who unequivocally state that the chairman should be given a second or casting vote. And there is also the weight of much legislation since the case of *Nell v. Longbottom*, where the right has been enacted. And such enactments have a habit of being copied.

Altogether, we think, on a re-examination of the subject, that our conclusions were right. But to restate our conclusions they are: that a Labour chairman has a right to a casting vote, but he is ordinarily badly advised to use it if he has voted in the first place, i.e., if he has himself created the equality which only his personal vote can avoid. —Ed. "L.O."]

A Paying Competition.

Dear Mr. Editor,

There is now't new in Football Attendance Competitions, but I thought that you would like to know how the Crewe effort works. We give each week £1 for a correct (or nearest) forecast of the attendance at our local football match, with a second prize of 10/- and we issue cards to the competition at 1d. each, this ranking as a donation to Local Party Funds.

We concentrate on sales in the workshops. Sales are now well over the 2,000 mark weekly. We have two good comrades who act as Competition Secretaries. As the seller hands in his tickets on the Friday night or Saturday morning he is issued with his batch for the following week. This allows for sales on the football ground on the preceding Saturday to the match.

Ticket sellers are allowed 15 per cent. commission on sales (many return this money to Party Funds). The Joint-Secretaries are allowed five per cent. commission on all sales.

Ward and Local Parties are encouraged to help sales by a grant of 20 per cent. of the sales of tickets by members of their organisations. The seller "nominates" the organisation to receive the 20 per cent.

Immediately the official gate attendance is obtained (on the Saturday evening) a circular letter is sent to all ticket sellers so that they are received on the Monday morning. This note

gives the official attendance as well as the names and addresses of the "winners."

I have had great help from the League of Youth who send out cyclist messengers to collect cash and completed tickets from sellers. There was a lot of work put into the scheme when we started with the result that it is now working very smoothly.

As for results. Last four weeks show a net profit of £17 12s. to the Divisional Party. This is *after* paying out the 20 per cent. of value of tickets to the Ward organisations, League of Youth, etc.

It is anticipated that we will maintain this as the sales grow steadily and interest is well maintained.

There is a lot that could be said about the scheme as I have concentrated on it as a means of income owing to local demands, but briefly, you have the story.

Advertisements almost cover printing costs.

Yours, etc.,

FRANK ROBERTS,
Labour Agent.

Fund Raising?

We can show you how the large orders that we have received from Local Labour Secretaries enable us to serve them at trade prices.

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HOW VOTES WERE SOUGHT IN "THE GOOD OLD DAYS."

Our readers will be interested in the following sample of election literature from the good old days which we reprint from "Camera Principis," the staff magazine of the National Association of Local Government Officers (Coventry Branch).

An honourable method of securing Votes,
Humbly recommended to the AGENTS of CANDIDATES in general.

MAKE the earliest application you can to as many Landlords of Public-Houses, of the *adverse* party, as you suspect to be in no very affluent circumstances. Tempt them to accept you as customers, by boasting freely of the riches and munificence of your employers, and how profusely they intend to treat the electors. If any difficulties should be raised about *principles* or *connections*, you must not scruple to say (whether with *truth* or not, is not of the least importance) that my *Lord*, or Mr. *Such-a-one* would scorn the meanness to fetter the inclinations of any man; it being their generous wish that the benefits of their liberality should be *equally* and *impartially* diffused, without the slightest *interested* views.

When you have so far succeeded, and entrapped your man, you must be very careful not to pay him a farthing of *ready money*: (even though the Candidates be rich as *Jews*.) That would entirely defeat your purpose: but contrive to get so far into his debt, that his immediate ruin must be the inevitable consequence of a delay of payment. Then is your time to be plain with him, and to inform him that his bills will not be discharged until he has voted according to your wish. The wretch will of course upbraid you with your treachery, and remind you of your former professions—and may likewise urge that his friends and customers will all forsake him for *turning his coat*:—But if you are any Electioneer at all, you will be completely fortified against such *idle* remonstrances. Honour and good Faith must always give way to the interest of your worthy employers.

Don't imagine, however, that you are afterwards obliged to pay the whole of the *insolent* fellow's bill, should it be ever so moderate.—It is at least ten to one, that in the hurry of an election, a considerable part of his demand may be such as he cannot *legally* substantiate. Of this you may very safely take the advantage, when he has already deprived himself, by voting for you, of the opportunity of resenting the injury.

For proofs of the efficacy of the above mode of practice, apply to the agents of Lord EARDLEY and Mr. WILMOT, at St. Mary's Hall, or to Mr. N—B—y, &c., &c., publicans in Coventry.

JUNE 29, 1790.

The Reorganisation of Local Government in England and Wales

Many of our readers will be profoundly interested in a memorandum on the above question which appears in the September issue of the "Labour Bulletin," price threepence, the Labour Party.

The state of flux which has existed for the past two years regarding the boundaries and in some cases the existence of local governing bodies, naturally leads one to the question as to whether in spite of all this upheaval Local Government is being settled down on the best lines, or whether we are not face to face with the necessity for a complete recasting of local administrative machinery throughout the country.

The memorandum referred to does not profess to be an official statement of Labour policy. It is printed as a basis for discussion, and it certainly is a thoughtful and thought-provoking document worthy of serious study by all interested in the question of local government.

We find it necessary to quote somewhat extensively from the memorandum in order to give our readers the gist of the argument which leads up to the final suggestions. But we advise our readers to get the complete article, and indeed the "Labour Bulletin" is a necessity to all Labour workers who require facts and authoritative statements on matters of prime concern to Labour men and women.

The memorandum opens with the general statement, with which we agree, that the organisation of local government in England and Wales is in many respects ill adapted to modern conditions, and it puts in a plea for an extensive overhaul. The haphazard re-organisation involved by recent legislation under several heads is pointed to, and it is said that "The general evolution of local government over the last fifty years has been in the direction of establishing larger and more consolidated units of administration, and of establishing joint authorities for certain services requiring a larger unit area of administration than the areas of existing local authorities. The tendency of recent legislation has undoubtedly been to concentrate the most important services in the hands of the county and county borough

councils. There are many reasons for this development, the chief being that the smaller local government units give an inadequate scale of operation for many services, that often they have not the resources necessary to ensure efficient administration, and that often it is essential that the area of rate-charge should be extended."

The writer proceeds to review the condition of present local governing bodies, and the following is a condensed summary of the conclusions arrived at:—

Rural District Councils.

With the passing of the Local Government Act, 1929, the rural district council has been shorn of most of its more important powers. . . . It is left mainly with certain public health powers which in the majority of cases are administered thoroughly badly.

Urban District and Non-County Borough Councils.

The urban district councils are in a different position. They still play a considerable part in highway administration; their public health powers are material; some of them are elementary education authorities; and numbers of them, although by no means all, are comparatively efficient. . . . The growing view is, that as appropriate units of public administration they are inadequate. Similar considerations, with some modification, apply to the non-county boroughs, whose powers are not materially greater than those of the urban districts.

Metropolitan Boroughs.

The metropolitan borough councils in London are in a special position. . . .

Unlike the greater number of urban districts, however, the metropolitan boroughs have substantial populations, a number of them larger than that of the average county borough. But it is not without significance that, apart from maternity and child welfare, new powers conferred upon them since their establishment under the Local Government Act, 1890, have been of no great significance, the tendency of Parliament being to confer new powers on the London County Council.

County Boroughs.

At first sight it may seem that there is no real difficulty with county boroughs as units of administration

Except for services administered by joint authorities, the council of a county borough has charge of the whole field of local government within its area. In this sense it is the only local authority which is entirely master within its territory. . . .

But the very fact that the county borough is taken completely out of the administrative county has created a problem which is tending to become more, rather than less, acute as time passes. There is a tendency in many of the large towns for population or industry to migrate over the boundary of the county borough; and as the town planning functions are often inadequately discharged in this extra-borough area, building development is frequently unsatisfactory. A large proportion of the population which moves out continues to be employed within the county borough, and it is natural for the county borough to wish to extend its boundaries in order that it may cater for all the citizens who work in the town, and that it may obtain the new rateable value, develop housing, and town-plan the outer belt.

The county council and the minor local authorities of the administrative county, in a large proportion of cases, object to this growth; the county largely on the ground that it means a loss of rateable value, and the minor local authorities on the ground that they do not wish to lose their local government identity. The fact must not be ignored that the loss of such territory to the county is often a very serious matter financially, for its services and responsibilities have grown in many case at a considerably greater rate than its rateable value, particularly having regard to the derating of agricultural land.

Probably the sympathy of the Labour Party in the past has, in the main, been with the county boroughs; but with the growth of Labour interest in the county councils, not to mention the non-county borough and urban districts, it must not be assumed that we can continue instinctively to take the part of the town in the fight between the county boroughs and the counties. . . .

County Councils.

With the exception of administrative counties which are largely mining or otherwise industrial in character, the development of effective Labour Party representation on the county councils has presented considerable difficulties.

Yet the powers of the county councils have steadily grown; the councils are among the most important of our local

government institutions; and it is vitally important, if the legislation of future Labour Governments is to be well administered, that Labour should become powerful on the county councils.

The areas of the administrative counties are largely determined by historical considerations, and modifications of these areas could only be undertaken, if at all, with the greatest care and circumspection. Generally speaking, however, the areas are fairly good for the purposes of modern local government administration, with the exception of certain services such as land drainage, some trading services, etc. For the bulk of local government functions proper, the county administrative area is, apart from the complication of county boroughs, probably the most suitable of that of any local authority; and however much the councils of the county districts may protest against the increased prestige and power of the county councils, it is unlikely that Parliament would have consistently tended to use the county rather than the county district for local administration unless the facts led in that direction. For although the Conservative Party might favour the county councils as being on the whole conservative institutions, the Parliamentary influence of the non-county boroughs and the district councils is very considerable.

A New Municipal Corporation.

It would appear that the facts of the situation, the technique of modern public administration, and the apparently immutable tendency of legislation, point in the direction of consolidating all the local authorities in the administrative county, plus any contiguous county boroughs, into one homogeneous real county borough, covering the whole combined area. This solution, however much at first sight it may be feared on grounds of political expediency, seems on the whole to be on the right lines for administrative and financial purposes.

It does not follow that the whole administration would be centralised. There could and probably ought to be associated with the new authorities, local district committees presided over by a member of the council, but otherwise consisting either of elected or co-opted persons or both. These district committees could have certain minor executive powers conferred upon them, but otherwise would be advisory and consultative. A large number of institutions, including hospitals and schools, would have their management commit-

tees appointed by the Council from among or outside its membership. Thus there could be conserved and encouraged special interests in institutions and in local areas, including the old boroughs and county districts.

Bigger and Better Services.

Consider what would be achieved by such a policy. The whole of education, for example, over a substantial but not impossible area — elementary, secondary, continuation, technical and trade—would become consolidated in one service, enabling the authority to employ a better quality of administrative staff than is now practicable for the smaller authorities or even for many of the county councils and the county boroughs themselves. Quality in administrative staff is a vital necessity for the successful application of Labour policy, and in itself usually encourages a sound progressive policy. The division of educational powers between the county, county borough, non-county borough and urban district councils would cease, and the magnitude of the new consolidated services would, on balance, promote a higher average development. Similar considerations would obtain in great or lesser degree in other fields of local government work.

It will be objected that we shall destroy the close touch of the smaller local authorities with their people, and injure that local civic patriotism which, it will be urged, is better produced by small units of local government. Except for the county boroughs, and to a lesser degree for the non-county boroughs, it is doubtful if this argument can be sustained. An analysis of the percentage of electors voting at urban and rural district council elections will certainly not bear it out; indeed, the figures for the county and non-county boroughs leave much to be desired. Admittedly the voting at county council elections is also bad; but it may reasonably be hoped that popular interest in the election of a great consolidated municipal authority, such as has been indicated, would be considerable.

Members of the New Authorities.

In the new circumstances, it would be absurd to expect that members of such great authorities could discharge their duties on a voluntary basis, or even on the by-no-means-satisfactory basis of expenses and subsistence allowance per meeting, which in itself provides an incentive towards needlessly large committees and needlessly frequent meet-

ings. The chairman of the council, the aldermen and the councillors should probably receive definite remuneration either at the same rate as Members of Parliament or possibly somewhat less, in addition to actual and necessary travelling expenses but without subsistence allowances.

With substantially full-time service, the membership of the council and probably of the committees could be reduced, which in turn would tend to give a higher standard of quality in administrators and would be conducive to the expeditious conduct of public business. Electoral divisions would require to be adjusted accordingly; and in the adjustment, care must be taken to see to it that the conservative rural areas are not over-represented.

(Concluded from page 186.)
certain point—but only up to a certain point—the urban district council might call on the county council to reimburse them.

He thought, therefore, that Mr. Davies was disqualified by holding the position of roadman under the urban district council. Something had been said on the question of delay, but the provisions of section 46 were stringent. As he began by saying, he was satisfied that Mr. Davies made a mistake in good faith, but he was equally satisfied that he was disqualified.

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LAW AND PRACTICE



At the wish of several readers we reproduce below the "Times" report of the case heard some time ago in the King's Bench Division arising out of the qualification of a Labour Councillor to sit upon the District Council of Abertillery. This case has created considerable interest in Labour circles, and the fact that the matter was coming before the High Court was, of course, widely known. The arguments and judgment are, however, less known and our readers will find it of interest to have the whole case before them.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE.

REX v. DAVIES; EX PARTE PENN AND OTHERS.

Before the Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Avory, and Mr. Justice Humphreys.

The Court made absolute this rule *nisi* which was granted on April 8, 1932, at the instance of Mrs. Elizabeth Emma Penn and four other ratepayers and electors in the urban district of Abertillery, Monmouthshire, calling on Mr. Theophilus John Davies, of Raymond House, Pantypwdyn, Abertillery, to show cause why an information in the nature of a *quo warranto* should not be exhibited against him to show by what authority he claimed to exercise the office of a member of the Urban District Council of Abertillery.

The grounds on which the rule was granted were (1) that Mr. Davies held a paid office—namely, that of a roadman under the urban district council; (2) that he was concerned in a bargain or contract entered into with the urban district council and participated in the profits of such bargain or contract—namely, a bargain or contract as roadman under the council.

It appeared from the affidavit in support of the rule that Mr. Davies, who was elected a member of the urban

district council in 1928, and offered himself for re-election in 1931, when he was again elected, was after April 1, 1930, employed by the council as a roadman.

By section 46 (1) of the Local Government Act, 1894:

A person shall be disqualified for being elected or being a member or chairman of a council of a parish or of a district other than a borough or of a board of guardians if he . . .

(d) holds any paid office under the . . . district council . . . or

(e) is concerned in any bargain or contract entered into with the council . . . or participates in the profit of any such bargain or contract or of any work done under the authority of the council . . .

Mr. A. M. Trustram Eve appeared for Mr. Davies; Mr. Montgomery, K.C., and Mr. W. C. Howe appeared for the other parties.

Mr. Eve read an affidavit by Mr. Davies from which it appeared that he was for many years employed by the Monmouthshire County Council as a roadman on a section of main road in the urban district of Abertillery. His wages, hours, and conditions of work were fixed by the county council.

On April 1, 1930, the Local Government Act, 1929, came into force. Under that Act, the county council became the highway authority in respect of (a) main roads, (b) all roads in rural districts, (c) classified roads in urban districts; and all those three classes of roads became known as "county roads." Provision was, however, made that the council of an urban district of more than 20,000 inhabitants might claim to exercise the functions of maintenance and repair of the county roads in the district. The Council of Abertillery made such a claim, and thereupon became entitled to exercise powers of maintenance and

repair of county roads as if it was the highway authority.

It became the duty of the surveyor of the urban district council to submit to the county council annually a detailed estimate of proposed expenditure on county roads, and, on approval by the county council, the county council became liable to repay to the urban district council the amount of the estimate or such less sum as might in fact be spent. The estimate submitted by the Abertillery council included Mr. Davies's wages at the rates and subject to the conditions of employment prescribed by the county council. The estimate was sent direct to the county council by the district surveyor without approval by the urban district council.

In those circumstances it was contended that Mr. Davies was still employed not by the urban district council, but by the county council, who paid his wages, and who it was submitted, could alone dismiss him; and that the urban district council were mere agents of the county council.

Counsel submitted that if the case came within section 46 at all, it was within paragraph (d), not (e). It was abundantly clear that not every contract would disqualify—e.g., a councillor whose house was supplied with electricity under a contract with the council could not be thereby disqualified.

The issue of the information was discretionary, and the Court should not interfere where there had been so much delay.

Mr. Montgomery submitted that Mr. Davies on the facts was employed since April 1, 1930, by the urban district council. It was quite immaterial that up to a point—the amount of the estimate—the council was entitled to be paid by the county council. There was no privity of contract between Mr. Davies and the county council. If his wages were not paid, the urban district council would be the only people he could sue, and they could determine his contract of employment. As to the details of his work, it was undoubtedly from the urban district council, through their surveyor or foreman, that he received his instructions.

Nor did the urban district council act in the matter as the agents of the county council. Under sections 35 and 36 of the Local Government Act, 1929, it was expressly said that the district council should act as the agent of the county council, but there was no such

provision in sections 32 and 33. As to delay, the Court no doubt had a discretion, but it was not customary to refuse the information for delay of this sort. There was a resolution of the Court in the reign of George III. that it would not interfere by *quo warranto* where a person had exercised an office for six years. The relators had behaved quite fairly with regard to the time which they had taken.

The Lord Chief Justice, in giving judgment, said that it was an unfortunate case, and speaking for himself he had no doubt that Mr. Davies thought that he was perfectly entitled to do that which he had done. He had been a member of the urban district council since 1928, and had occupied various positions of importance as chairman successively of the education and finance committees, and vice-chairman of the council.

Mr. Davies himself in his affidavit said that the urban district council had claimed to exercise the functions of maintenance and repair in respect of the county roads, including the section on which he worked, and the affidavit went on to refer to a letter from the clerk to the county council to the clerk to the urban district council, in which reference was made to "men engaged on roads by your district council."

It seemed quite clear that Mr. Davies was employed under the urban district council. It had been strenuously argued by Mr. Eve that while the hand that passed the money was the urban district council, his real employer was the county council. The argument seemed to pay too little attention to the sharp contrast between two groups of sections in the Local Government Act, 1929. Under sections 32 and 33 there were provisions under which the urban district council might claim to exercise functions of maintenance and repair; while under sections 35 and 36 the county council might delegate certain functions to the district council, who were then to act as agents of the county council.

The present case fell within the first category. From April 1, 1930, the council of this large urban district claimed, and claimed successfully, to exercise the functions of maintenance and repair in respect of county roads.

The fact was quite clear that it was the urban district council which employed the man, which might put an end to his employment and appoint his successor. It was true that up to a

(Concluded on page 184.)

Little Acts Worth Knowing

(File for Reference.)

THE QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN (COUNTY AND BOROUGH COUNCILS) ACT, 1907.

(7 Edw. 7, c.33.)

An Act to amend the Law relating to the capacity of Women to be elected and act as Members of County or Borough Councils.

(28th August, 1907.)

Preamble.

i. PROVISION AS TO CAPACITY OF WOMEN TO BE COUNTY OR BOROUGH COUNCILLORS OR ALDERMEN.

- (1) A woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage for being elected or being a councillor or alderman of the council of any county or borough (including a metropolitan borough).
- (2) (Repealed by the Statute Law Revision Act, 1927.)

2. SHORT TITLE AND EXTENT.

- (1) This Act may be cited as the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act, 1907.
- (2) This Act shall not extend to Scotland or Ireland.

THE COUNTY AND BOROUGH COUNCILS (QUALIFICATION) ACT, 1914.

(4 & 5 Geo. 5, c. 21.)

An Act to extend the Qualification for Membership of County and Borough Councils.

(7th August, 1914.)

(Preamble.)

i. EXTENSION OF QUALIFICATION TO BE ELECTED ON COUNTY OR BOROUGH COUNCILS.

- (1) Notwithstanding anything in the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, or any other Act, any person of either sex shall be qualified to be elected and to be a councillor or alderman of a county council or of a borough council and may be nominated for election as a councillor, if that person has resided within the county or borough, as the case may be, during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election.
- (2) The qualification under this provision shall be alternative for, and shall not repeat or take away, any other qualification and shall not remove or affect any disqualification.

2. SHORT TITLE AND APPLICATIONS.

- (1) This Act may be cited as the County and Borough (Qualification) Act, 1914.
- (2) This Act shall not apply to Scotland or Ireland.

THE MINISTERS OF RELIGION (REMOVAL OF DISQUALIFICATIONS) ACT, 1925.

(15 & 16 Geo. 5, c.54.)

An Act to remove the disqualification of ministers of religion for being borough councillors.

(31st July, 1925.)

(Preamble.)

i. REMOVAL OF DISQUALIFICATIONS.

From the passing of this Act no person shall be disqualified for being elected or being a councillor of a borough by reason only that he is in holy orders or the regular minister of a dissenting congregation.

2. SHORT TITLE.

- (1) This Act may be cited as the Ministers of Religion (Removal of Disqualifications) Act, 1925.
- (2) Paragraph (b) of subsection (1) of section twelve of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, is hereby repealed.
- (3) This Act shall not apply to Northern Ireland.

(Continued from page 179.)

Now there are persons in our Movement who for lack of other ties virtually marry the Movement. And their sense of possession can be a danger to democracy though we won't touch on that to-day. A was a school-master, married, no children, and his wife apparently preferred her mother's home at evenings to any other company. B was a single lady, age uncertain, unattachment, however, quite certain and she lived in a flat by herself which she never tired of telling was "all-electric." Can it be truthfully said that the time A and B gave to the Party was "sacrifice"? or is it not more truthful to say that his Party work supplied A with the solace his wife and home denied him, and that B was finding in her Party work an outlook for natural love and motherliness that her state denied her? Rather the sacrifice appears to us to have been made when C, a railwayman, gave up his sleep to attend the Party meeting; when D gave up his gardening, and E, the mother of four, put the kiddies to bed, their clothes and porridge ready for the morning and trotted round, a trifle late, for the meeting.

Ah, but we are not leaving matters there—on a note of sentiment. This matter set us thinking. Why do X, Y, Z, go off on Saturday afternoons to play football; why is it that C to Z each and every one of them has some social interest outside the Party, and that the Party represents to them just one side of life—the political? That is what's wrong, my readers; and that's where the moral lies. Our Party must become more and more a part of the peoples' life—as it is with A and B. And the people live not by bread alone; sport, recreation, outings, teas, dances, socials, entertainments, concerts,

drama, rambling, cycling, camping, swimming, hiking, reading, pictures—this is life and even the victim of man's inhumanity to man under the accursed Means Test has a right and a share in some of these things. But moreover there is not one of the activities we have mentioned which is not being provided by some Local Labour Party somewhere, proving that with greater courage and greater perception of what the people need we can get the people's time, companionship and comradeship. Why always ask for sacrifice?

The audacity and political dishonesty of our Tory opponents seems to know no end. Trickery, misrepresentation, distortion and falsehood we are accustomed to, but the fouler methods of bribery, treating, etc., are becoming more rare, not, we believe, because the wealthy and unscrupulous would not abuse their wealth, but because detection carries punishment and detection is more certain to-day. Yet in Nottingham at the recent municipal elections, a Tory candidate distinguished himself for his gross and open defiance of the Corrupt Practices Act. This pure and simple-minded aspirant to serve his fellow-citizens distributed thousands of paper puzzles, masks, spinning tops and packets of pins during his contest all bearing the injunction to vote for this "gentleman." We have advised our friends to refer this matter to the Public Prosecutor and failing that to ensure that a question is asked in the House concerning the steps taken to enforce the law at municipal elections in Nottingham. In another town treating, as always, was rampant; taxis were openly used, and shillings given to electors as they came out of the polling booth. To what depths our opponents will descend to stem the flowing tide of Socialism! And, in the country, they didn't succeed.

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